## 97-84237-18

Mass. and Rhode Island, discrimination...

[Washington]

[18--]

## COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES PRESERVATION DIVISION

#### **BIBLIOGRAPHIC MICROFORM TARGET**

ORIGINAL MATERIAL AS FILMED - EXISTING BIBLIOGRAPHIC RECORD

529 329 Z1	•	
# 7	Massachusetts and Rho	ode Island, discrimina-
tion agains	t foreign born citizer	ns, compulsory voting
with employ	ers; extracts from rep	ports nos. 572 and 427
made to the	United States senate	in April and May, 1880,
by select o		
tWashington	no date	12 p Z/ 9 of a vol of pamphlets
	No title-page No	9 of a vol of pamphlets

RESTRICTIONS ON USE:

Reproductions may not be made without permission from Columbia University Libraries.

#### TECHNICAL MICROFORM DATA

FILM SIZE: 35 mm	REDUCTION RATIO: 10:1	IMAGE PLACEMENT: IA (IIA) IB	IIB
DATE FILMED: _	11-7-97	INITIALS: B	
TRACKING # :	29292		

FILMED BY PRESERVATION RESOURCES, BETHLEHEM, PA.

### MASSACHUSETTS AND RHODE ISLAND.

## Discrimination Against Foreign-Born Citizens.

#### COMPULSORY VOTING WITH EMPLOYERS.

Extracts from Reports Nos. 572 and 427, made to the United States Senate in April and May, 1880, by Select Committee of which Senator Wallace, of Pennsylvania, was Chairman.

Your special committee to inquire into alleged frauds in the recent elections was directed to inquire and report to the Senate concerning the denial or abridgment of the right of suffrage to citizens of the United States, and now reports the results of its labors concerning the abridgment of suffrage of citizens of the United States by the State of Rhode Island.

The distinction herein made between the rights of native-born and foreignborn citizens to vote is so broad and well marked, that at the outset of our inquiry the attention of your committee was arrested by it as an anomaly in the American system, and we have given it careful examination and thought.

The qualifications imposed by the State of Rhode Island, prior to the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, and which were continued until the adoption of the Desent constitution of Rhode Island, were not unequal in character, as they are how. It was required a voter should be a land owner and a free man, regardless of his nativity—both native-born and naturalized citizens were placed upon the same level, and were required to have the same qualifications, and no such distinctions provaled in any State or control that time. Under the present constitution of proseess a qualification that so not required of native-born eithers, and this additional qualification amounts to disfranchisement.

We examined a large number of witnesses to ascertain, as nearly as possible, towhat extent this disfrancibisement of foreign-born citizons had been carried in that State. This testimony is now reported to the Senate, and an abstract

of it is appended to this report.

of it is appended to this report.

The testimony upon the subject of the number of persons deprived of the right of suffrage by the property qualifications imposed upon foreign-born citizens by the constitution and laws of Rhode Island is somewhat conflicting, various estimates being made by different witnesses, ranging from 3,000 to 25,000. Dr. Snow, the superintendent of the census of Rhode Island, of 1875, says that he should estimate it at from 2,000 to 5,000, but that it is more guesswork, and that it is possible that from 20,000 to 25,000 foreign-born citizens of Rhode Island might be qualified to vote if naturalized, the number who are reported in the census as qualified being only 5,344. Carl W. Erust, an intelligent Republican foreign-born citizen, gives still another estimate, after a careful examination, and places the number of disfranchished foreign-born citizens at not less than 10,000 to 15,000. His judgment was based upon careful inquiry, and his position as a journalist fitted him to judge.

The advocates of the doctrine embodied in the constitution of Rhode Island of 1842, "that those who own the country ought to govern the country," did not dream in the days in which they combatted for their peculiar system, that

a discrimination was to be made in the rule of suffrage between the nativeborn citizen, white or black, on the one hand, and the foreign-born citizen on the other. Their teaching was placed upon the high ground that every voter ought to possess the evidence of his fitness to exercise the function of suffrage, and the the possession of land was the safest standard of that fitness. How laments bly this theory has failed, in the light of the testimouy taken by your commit ce. If the rule were, as those who created and defended it intended, equal it its disfranchisement as well as in its enfranchisement, there would be no roon to complain of the unjust discrimination that exists.

In the light of the testimony taken by the committee, the discrepancy between the voting population of Massachusetts and Rhode Island is readily accounter for. It is the result of the practical denial of suffrage to citizens of the United States of foreign birth, and of impediments to the exercise of the elective frauchise by poor natives, under constitutional provisions, executed

under r gid registry laws.

The importance of this question may be further evident when we recollect that the vote of the electoral college is based upon the representation of the States in the Senate and House of Representatives. From the figures given by with esses brought before the committee it is possible that, under the four-teenth uncodment and the act of 1872, Rhode Island might rightfully have been deprived of one Representative in the House of Representatives of the Forty-fourth Congress, and that her additional vote in the electoral college thus se ured decided the question of the Presidency in 1877, the vote as returned by electoral commission being 185 to 184, and it might again decide it.

The character of the registry laws of Rhode Island, as adding to the disqualifications of those who own no real-estate, and throwing still further restrictions around the right of suffrage, was the subject of testimony before your committee. All native voters who own no real-estate must register personally in December and pay their poll tax of \$1 in January, or they are disqualified from voting during that year. This operates to disqualify very many person, and tends largely to corruption among this class of voters. Dr. Snow, the superintendent of the census, and several other witnesses, testified that the effect of this restricted suffrage, and the registry law, is to bring about the payment of money by the party leaders and candidates as an inducement for the voters to vote, and to discourage them from voting when those payments are not made. The truth is, that payment of taxes, as a prerequisite to exercising the right of suffrage, is a most vicious rule, wherever it exists. It invariably tends to corrupt practices, and to debase the voters.

Resists. It invariantly tenus to corrupt practices, and to default the session of the polis at sunset, instead of eight o clock, as formerly, by which the operatives it the mills are prevented from voting, and the compalsory payment of the registry tax ten months prior to the general election in a Presidential year, cause great complaints upon the part of the poor men and foreign-born citizens in Rho le Island; and to these features of her laws many intelligent witnesses and to be small percentage of voters among her people and the large among of corner practices in the elections of the state. A foreign-born soldier, brevet ed a major for gallantry, said, under oath: "I have never qualified myself to yote, for the reason that I consider the principle wrong; that suffrage ought obe based on manhood, and not on real-estate; and that no qualification was re mired for negroes, their color being sufficient passport, provided they vote right." In reply to the question, what action the Government of the Uniter States could take to remove the disqualifying features of the State Uniter States could take to remove the disqualitying features of the State constitution, he said, "that by the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the Constitution of the United States, universal suffrage was forced upon the South, and that the rule ought to work just as well on the North." Another foreign born soldier, brevetted at Missionary Ridge as hientenant-colonel, testified that he hadriced toget many foreigners to become naturalized, telling them that in time they would become voters, but they would not do so, as they declared they would feel more degraded in becoming citizens of the United States and not beginn the privilege of various than they fall they they would States and not having the privilege of voting, than they felt that they were without naturalization; he said that was his own feeling, and although he owned no real-estate now, but did when he voted, he felt that one who had for so long been a soldier in the service of the country ought not to need any such qualification.

The effect of the registry tax is described thus:

The difficulty here is this: There is a particular period in the year within which the men who pay this one dollar registry-tax must be registered, and if not registered within that time are denied the opportunity to vote, because they cannot register at any other time during the year, even thought they pay their tax. If therefore, a question such as the period of the property clause upon which they can be any time during any mable to qualify themselves for voting. Furthermore, a very large part of our naturalized population are men who work in the mills, and nearly all the mills of the state are controlled by Republican politicians. Those men take their neutrino as they do for officers and everything of our natural thousands of men in this vote in that way, we do not not always and the nature of the politicians here, are compelled to vote in that way. vote in that way.

Ex-Congressman Davis testified upon the subject of the corrupt use of money in elections, that it was the result of restricted suffrage, and that wealth and power were in absolute control of the State. He said, also:

Money is all-powerful. It has been exercised over and over again in such quantities of money as to over whelm almost the public sentiment, the natural scutiment of the State. Senators have been elected thus, and Representatives. No State in the Union has had so large an outpouring of wealth uponjit since 1800, and for a considerable period before that, as had Rhode Island. It is a small State, and power takes possession of it. There were not mean fluences, to be sure; concentrated influences. When we say in public when not mean fluences, in the say that men go to the corners of the streets and take a ticket and receive a certain sum of money for the say that means the same and take a ticket and receive a certain sum done unon a large scale.

#### Another intelligent witness said:

I suppose that that class in this State called our registry voters, that is to say, those who have no visible property to be 18 ked, and consequently to become qualified to vote must have adollar tax, constitute probably at least one-fourth of the voting population State, or would it they were qualined. In the division of purities this class has been much up largely of those of the Democratic hath. Consequently the Democratic party in a larger extent, and of those of the Democratic faith. Consequently the Democratic party to a larger extent, and has opposite party in a smaller degree, have bad to raise a certain amount of money as the line trop in a campaign in order to pay the registry taxes of these men. Both parties lell into the practice resulting from these men not paying their taxes and depending on their party friends to pay their taxes for them, and money has been raised by both parties to pay these preliminary taxes. With the Democratic party in this State, the condition was that they would have no party organization scuroely, unless they could had some nown and have nown the state, the condition was that they enough in their success to pay largely in order to quality men to wor. On way, has had the effect to introduce money. There is no question about it, money has been the great power in almost every contexted election in this State.

The owner of real estate gets upon the registry of votes by virtue of his real estate. The native born, the owner of personalty, pays his taxes of over one dollar, and thus he gets upon the registry; but the native who owns no taxable property must personally register himself and pay his taxes, or he cannot vote. The foreign-born citizen may own personalty, but cannot vote unless he owns real estate, and of course he cannot get upon the registry. If registry taxes for one year are not paid, the constitution forbids the voto

until the arrears for two years are paid up.

is this the explanation of the fact proved in this testimony that out of 43,741 voters shown by the census of 1875 to be in the State and qualified to vote, but 26,627 actually did vote in the hody-contested Presidential election of 1876? Sixteen thousand one hundred and fourteen voters, or about threeeighths of the whole voting population, actually abstained from voting, if these figures be true. No such percentage of non-voters is found anywhere, either North or South, in that election. In the great central belt of States north, over 90 per cent. of the whole vote therein was polled at that election, whilst in Rhode Island but about 62 per cent, finds its way to the polls. If the voters are there this fact is a pregnant one in its bearing upon the election laws and their administration in the State.

The testimony taken by the committee at Providence discloses many discriminations by the laws of Rhode Island, and the practices under them, against foreign-born citizens of the United States and of Rhode Island.

Naturalized citizens may own any amount of personal property, and pay

any amount of taxes thereon, but they cannot vote unless possessed of a certain amount of real estate. Foreign-born citizens who were naturalized and voted in Rhode Island long before the war of the Rebellion and who served the United States and the State of Rhode Island in Rhode Island regiments throughout the war, and who have been shown to have lost this real estate, have been deprived of the right to vote by that loss. The result has been in Rhod Island that very many resident foreigners not already made citizens of the United States elsewhere, on going to that State decline to become naturalize l. They decline to take the burdens of citizenship without being permitted to enjoy its benefits.

As: specimen case, your committee refers to that of Col. James Moran, of Provi lence. An abstract of his testimony is as follows:

Livel here twenty-eight years; foreigner; naturalized; entered service of the United Savice nore twenty-ecent years; foreigner; mattraized; entered service of the United States from Rhode Island under promises nade by the State olicials that the foreigners who went it to the service could you when they came back; commissioned as second-fleatment; prome of to captaincy: served three years; intornably discharged; leld no election for officials; it though Island in this company in the army, but could not yote binned; was a voter once because he owned real estate; had best it, and cannot vote now; been coloud in the in-litia, and notary public; majority of the operatives in the mills are foreigners; are changed about and can't save money to buy homes.

Alt rough naturalized he cannot vote, because he does not possess the real estate which Rhode Island laws make it necessary for a foreign-born citizen

As milar case is that of Col. John M. Duffy, who had been a resident of Prov dence for twenty years. He entered the service of the United States in May, 1861, in the Second Rhode Island Volunteers, as a private, being promote I subsequently, to sergeant, second lieutenant, and first lieutenant of that regin ent. After some service in the Second Rhode Island Volunteers, he was hono ably discharged to accept the commission in the United States Regular Arm, as first lieutenant in the Thirteenth Infantry, being brevetted lieutenantcolonel for gallantry at the battle of Missionary Ridge. He remained in the Army until 1869, when he was discharged for disability, and received a pension of \$15 per month. Colonel Duffy acquired real estate after his return from the Army, and upon becoming naturalized was permitted to vote. Having lost his real estate from the vicisitudes of fortune he has lost his right to vote.

The case of Hon. Thomas Davis, formerly a member of Congress from Rhode Islan I, is given in the following condensation of his testimony:

Live in Providence; foreigner; naturalized forty live years ago; seventy-five years old; a manu acturing jeweler; been in both branches of the legislature a number of times; member of Congress from Rhode Island in 1852-54; then owned real estate; I am not now a qualthe courses from those behand in 1838-34, then owned real estate; I am not now a qualissue vice I taited in husiness, and the title tom pyroperty passed to my assignees, and I
crain thow vote; colored men now vote here like institutions wittes, while overy loreign
born dizers is exclused unless he owns real estate; the circ of this is ladded to vote increasing the control sufficient increasing wealth control sufficient enters have been both a Republican and a Demcial diverse association of the free flave been both a Republican and a Demcial ways advocated the repeal of this restriction.

The MANA Medicianoton. Naturalized; cannot vote; no real safe of compensation of the fidney.

The MANA Medicianoton. Naturalized; cannot vote; no real safe of compensation of the fidney
cigniloric clizens; in lattice
control of the fidney of the fidney of the fidney of the fidney of the control of the fidney
control of the fidney of the fidney of the fidney of the fidney of the control of the fidney.

The MANA Medicianoton is presented a memorial paying love clizen, and a vote there;

where the fidney of the fidney

vote ( bw, for we own no land; at least 5,000 naturalized citizens in the State who cannot vote, DA GEL DONOVAN. Natoralized; came from Connecticut; lived in the United States slace five y are sold; and a skilled mechanic; ten of us work together in one room in our factory, the highest-grade room in it; six of the ten are foreigners, and cannot vote for want of land; a house and lot to sult my family would cost me \$5,000.

Reseated efforts have been made to seeme the alteration of the constitution of RI ode Island in regard to property qualifications for foreign-horn citizens, but they avealways been defeated. Sp. cial instances are hown where State senators and representatives have voted to submit the question of the extension of suffrage to the vote of the people, and then have done everything in their power at 11 e polls to defeat it. In the case of the submission of the question of the extension of suffrage to soldiers and sailors who had served in Rhode Island regiments during the war, submitted during the Presidential canvass of 1876. the testimony shows that it was made a party question at the polls.

W theses testify that a minority of her people has ruled Rhode Island for more than fifteen years past, and that the opposition to the extension of suffrage came mainly from those now in power, who fear the loss of place that would follow.

Your committee believes that there are good grounds for the complaints made, that the government of Rhode Island, under its present constitution, is nearer an oligarchy than a democracy. The disfranchisement of so large a percentage of her people, by systematic effort and rigidly-enforced statutes, the small vote cast for President at a hotly contested election, the small nmmber of votes cast for memocrs of Congress in four successive elections, when contrasted with the number cast in other States in the same elections, the choice of members of Congress, governors, and Presidents by the votes of one out of every ten of the people, whilst other States rast one vote for every five of theirs, the maintenance of the rule of three-fifths for the amendment of her constitution, by which the will of the majority has been twice defeated, all compel us to recognize Rhode Island as different in her government, her institutions, and her policy from all of her sister commonwealths in the Union, and lead us to grasp at any provision of the Federal Constitution which, fairly consigned, will grant us power to enforce, for her people, "a Republican form of government," by which we mean a government by the whole people for the whole people of the Start.

Rhode Island is the only State in the Union in which native and foreignborn citizens stand upon different grounds as to State qualifications for the right of suffrage.

The laws of the United States require a residence of five years within the country before a foreigner can be naturalized. This makes him a citizen of the United States; but he may be a voter for members of Congress, or for electors for President, or for the members of the State legislature, who elect a United States Senator, after he has resided six months in the country, if he lives in Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, or Georgia, or within twelve months residence in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Indiana, Minnesota, Missouri, Oregon, Texas, and Wisconsin.

A naturalized foreigner can vote in California after a residence of six months, Connecticut, after a residence of one year if he he alde to read any article of the constitution or any section of the statutes of the State; Delaware, after one year's residence if he have paid taxes; Illinois, after one year's residence; Iowa, six months' residence; Kentucky, two years' residence; Lonisiana, one year's residence; Maine, three months; Maryland, one year; Michigau, three months; Mississippi, six months' residence; Nevada, six months; New Hampshire and New Jersey, one year; North Cardina, one year; Onto, one year; South Carolina, one year; Tennessee, ene year; Yermont and Virginia, on-year; and West Virginia, one year in the State. The same residence is reonired in these twenty-one States of the native-born citizens.

In these States residence is superadded by State authority as a qualification to voting for all obicers, State as well as Federal In Massachusetts two years; in Pennsylvania thirty days, and in New York ten days are added by State authority to the qualification of five years; and in Rhode Island ownership of real-estate must be in the naturalized foreigner before he is a voter.

These differences are founded in the policy of the respective States, but there is no one of theme in which payment of taxes, length of residence or educational qualifications are not unbosed able upon the native and foreign-born citizen, saye the case of Rhode Island, and its property qualification.

The vice of its system, and the wrong to the general welfare, consists in its inequality-in its deliberate distanchisement of foreign-born citizens by a rule which permits so gross a discrimination as is demonstrated by the proof taken by your committee.

The many efforts which have been made to amend the constitution of the State in this respect have always failed, merely because of the provisions of the existing constitution on the subject of amendments thereof. The amendments must be proposed and adopted by the general assembly; then published with the names of the members voting for and against the same; then approved by the succeeding general assembly; then, if approved, submitted to the people for ratification and adoption, which requires not a majority, but three-fifths of those voting, for their valid adoption.

In 1864 an amendment granting to naturalized citizens who have been in the mil tary service of the United States and honorably discharged the right to vote without the property qualification, was submitted to the people; 2,174 voted for it and 1,578 voted against it. It was rejected, although a majority voted for it. Again, in 1876, a like amendment was proposed and rejected for wart of three-fifths, although a majority voted for it. The vote stood 11,038 for and 10,050 against it. This vote was taken at the Presidential election. and the number voting affimatively was much greater than the vote polled for the Tilden electors.

Your committee is decided in its conviction that this discrimination by the constitution of Rhode Island against foreign-born citizens is unjust unwise, and anti-republican. It is in direct antagonism to the great principle of equalpefore the law, as well as of the central idea of a Democratic republic. It is a I the people who rule and ought to rule, and not an oligarchy or a favored few. Nativity, creed, or property ought not to be made the ground of discrumation against the citizen when once he has taken upon himself the duties of citizenship, and many of the cases disclosed in this testimony are, in our vie v, peculiarly hard in their effect upon the foreign-born soldier; but we are equally decided that the only remedy for the wrong to the citizen is with the Sta e, by an amendment of its constitution, or by an amendment of the Constit ition of the United States. The State may be made to suffer the decrease of its representation in Congress as a penalty for the deprivation of this right to I er citizens, under the provisions of the 14th amendment of the Constitution of the United States; but this does not give the ballot to the citizen.

The average vote to the Congressional district in Rhode Island of the com-

bin ad Democrat and Republican candidates was only 3,381 in 1874, whilst in the remainder of New England it was 20,359 to the Congressional district; and while Connecticut in the Presidential contest polled 30,539 votes in each of her Congressional districts, Rhode Island polled but 13,313 votes to choose a Congre sman.

In the thirteen Southern States, exclusive of Alabama, and Texas, the avera, se total vote in each Congressional district in 1874 was 20,404, whilst in Rhede Island it was 3,881.

F orida and Rhode Island have each two Congressmen. The population of the former in 1870 was 187,738, of the latter 217,353; yet in the Presidential election, in 1872 Florida polled 33,190 veres, or one to every five and a third, whilst Rhode Island polled but 18,994, or one to every eleven and a half. In

1870 Florida polled a total of 46,772 votes, and Rhode Island but 23,627.
A: the Congressional elections the comparison is as follows: In each Congressional district the average vote in-

States.	1873.	1874.	1875.	1878.
Rho e Island Florida	9,407 16,595	3,381	13,813 23,386	9,198
Pen sylvania	19,036 28,970	28,952 20,560	36,533 27,795	34,439 24,281

A contrast of the population and the votes polled in the cities of Philadelphia and Providence in 1876 shows the same result.

The population in Philadelphia in 1876 was \$17,448; the vote polled in 1876

was 139,230, or one for every 5.87 of her people.

The population of Providence by the census of 1875 was 100,675; the vote poll-d in 1876 was 9,118, or one for every 11 of her people.

Both are manufacturing cities, both are under registry laws, and both have pay nent of taxes as a prerequisite for voting. Pennsylvania has no real-estate qua ification and no discrimination against foreign-born citizens. Rhode

Your committee reports that the right of suffrage to foreign-born citizens of the United States is abridged by the constitution and laws of Rhode Island.

#### EMPLOYEES.

In pursuing another duty enjoined by the senate of Rhode Island this subject of controlling the votes of employés by the employers, through fear of loss of work was incidentally examined.

At Westerly, in the southwest part of the State, there are two corporations known as the New England Granite Company and the Smith Granite Company. They employed in 1876 about 150 men in getting out and preparing granite. Direct influence was brought to bear upon these employes about a week before the Presidential election of 1876 by these corporations issuing a hand-bill and circulating it where the men worked, which stated that the election of Mr. Tilden would be a great injury to their business, and by the concluding paragraph which declared they would secure their own interest by voting against Mr. Tilden. The circular was in these words:

#### TO ALL VOTERS

#### Employed by the N. E. GRANITE WORKS, AND THE SMITH GRANITE CO.

Having become fully convinced that the election of Samuel J. Tidlen and a Democratic Congress, on the 7th of November, will be a great injury to our business, and will also be a Mational Calamity, we do most earnestly advise all VOTERS IN OUR EMPLOY to vote the Republican Ticket, more especially for a Republican Member of Congress. You will, by so doing, secure your own interest, our interest, and the interest of your country.

The N. E. GRANTE WORKS.
The SMITH GRANTE CO.

The plain implication from the language here used is that the injury to the business of the corporation would result in loss of employment to the workmen, and it undoubtedly had the effect to intimidate voters

It was shown that at Hope Village in the Congressional election the Republicans used a colored ballot of a very distinctly marked color, and that the Democratic ballot was plain white. At that time there were a number of Democrats employed in the works who attended Democratic nectings and desired to vote that ticket, but when these men came to vote on election day, mean in the employ of the Hope Mannfacturing Company stood at the ballot-box and watched the ballots all day. Some of these Democrats went home without voting, and others declared that they did not dare to vote. At Woonsocket there are seven or eight large mannfacturing establishments usually operating as corporations. They employ many workmen, a majority

or whom are of foreign birth, and among the employes are many whose political opinions are Democratic. It was shown that at almost every election for years these men voted under the eye of their employers a gents who were Republicans, and in very many cases under circumstances showing infinidation and fear of loss of work.

"The representatives of the manufacturers of Woonsocket are chiefly Republican. The owners are not residents of Woonsocket, but of Providence and other places; but their agents in Woonsocket, as a general thing, and with hut one exception, are Republicans. On the day of election they are very active, exceedingly active, in getting in the voters who work at their establishments. They are sometimes carried to the polls in their own private carriages, and sometimes in carriages hired by the party. They are usually met at the entrance to the hall by men in the employ of those corporations, who will present the voters, as they are marched in, with ballots. They are followed, in many cases, from the entrance to the hall to the ballot-box, and worthed must be deputing in the light, lays as the three contents are the statements. watched until the ballot is seen to be deposited in the ballot-box, so that there may be no opportunity for them to change their ballots and take others.

One witness described the acts which he thought amounted to intimidation. in this language:

"I have known men employed in the Woonsocket machine shop to be marched up, in the hall, in squads by a man named Chase, who had some position there-I do not know whether it was that of engineer or what it was-and compelled to hold their hands up with the ballots in them in this manner. [The witness clevated his right hand to a level with his head.] They walked along and he went with them, watching them nutil, as each man dropped the ballot in, he took his eye off the men. At the last Congressional election I saw

him march up two squads from the machine shop. I know one man up there who at the same election, informed me that he wanted to vote the Democratic tick t, but was obliged to vote the Republican ticket, because he had been given to understand that it would be for his interest to do so. His property was mortgaged, and the party who ran on the Republican ticket controlled, or his i itimate friend controlled, the mortgage at the time. The man was afraid to vote otherwise, he informed me. They have come to me, for instance, and to other Democrats in my hearing and sight and said, "We want a ticket," This was the evening before the election. And they gave us a ticket and said that they had to carry it or they would lose their job. There is a strong feeling in their minds that if they do not vote the ticket that is given to them by their employers they are liable to be turned off, that they are spotted, and, if auyl ody is transed off, it will be them. These employes who are Democrats, who have been furnished with tickets or who say, "We shall be furnished with a ticket by the boss or the manufacturing company's agents," come to our heat quarters, and say, "We want a ticket in our pockets that is of our kind, so that we can vote it if we change it for the other." Well, the employers have found that they were being cheated by the men, that the men, in spite of their convincing advice, had got the tickets that they wanted to vote and had put bem in. That accounts for their compelling the men to hold their hands They give them their ticket when they get our of the carriage and compet hem to hold it up in their hands as they murch along through the crowd.

It was shown that in the tenth word of Providence, at the Presidential election of 1876, the time-keeper employed by The Corless Steam Engine Company was it the polls with his book, and as every man working for his establishmen would cast his ballot he would check his name or write his name down upor the book. He was not there as an official of the election. He would watch to see which way a man voted and then take memoranda in his book.

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

At other meeting of manufacturers was shown to have been held at Worcester, dass., in the office of Mr. Washourn, who was enairman of the Republican City Committee. The purpose of this meeting was to urge the employers of labor there present to exercise their influence. It was to arouse them to action. They were asked to call their employes together and address them on the issue. This was done in at least one case. The action taken at this meeting was speken of by the employes affected as being prejudicial to their freedom of action. Pear of loss of work if they voted or acted against their employers' wishes was frequently expressed. The result of the meeting, and its action, was a degree of fating dation to the employe. One witness described its c feet upon the operatives thus: It caused them to be no longer active, to groy cold; it dampened their arder and changed their conduct. Another witness said the meeting was held for the purpose of "toreing their help, through dread of non-employment, to vote contrary to their wishes and according to the vishes of their employers." And still another, who was in charge of the Democratic headquarters, described it thus:

A. 'The effect of the meeting, as it was detailed to me-of course I do not know that it is A. he effect of the meeting, as it was detained to me—or course i do not know that it is accountly but it eams to he from quite a number of courses was this, that there had been a cities eakers, and by one speaker particularly, was to this effect; "We must keep hoster the buy; it must not say that our mea with set discharged, or any thing of that kind, but we must hold it before them that if Buther is elected, or the policy he advocates prevails, it will be necessary to close our workshops and slop our bughness.

Me) came to me and said that that that was the drift of it, and asked me if I thought it was probable that they would lose their work. Employees came to you and asked you this? - A. Yes, sir: that was the current under-

Q. Improves earner to you and asserd you trus?—A. Yes, 1977 that was the current understanding there, that a half have slated was the tenor of the meeting.
Q. Max was the effect, as you gathered it from the enablyces, themselves, upon their mind: ?—A. Its effect was this; that while up to that date the operatives and employees, as a general raulo in Worrester County, had been enthusiastic, had througed our rooms day and event ig almost, a great many of them then came and expressed doubts as to whether they would be able to vote or act one dly for this reason; that they understood that this meeting had been reld and that that was the policy that would be adopted. In consequence of that, there was a decided coolines at that time on the part of this class of men. I do not know that there

Was any direct act of intimidation upon them further than that the report of this meeting had that effect upon them, but I do know a great many upon whom we had counted with absolute certainty up to that time were missing or sole voted against us.

Your committee are of the opinion that in very many instances during that election the ballot was cast by operatives against their own deliberate convic-tions, and in favor of the candidates of their employers, and that this was the

result of a fear of loss of work at the beginning of winter.
This policy of keeping "inside the law" was publicly proclaimed in The Herald, a leading and influential newspaper in Boston, which carnestly and effectively aided the cause of those who called and held those meetings of employers, in these words:

There will probably be a good deal of "bulldoring" done in Massachusetts this year of a circlineal type. The laborer employed by Getieral Butler in his various enterprises—mills quarrier, &c. will be expected tovote for him or give up heir situations. The same rule will look good on the other side. There will be no shot gons or threats. Everything and the discovering depend the decorting, depend by noble sentiments. But the They hongestly believe that Butler employ the fourther, if not seven-eller property. They know that file hands are waiting to do their work. It is not to be expected that they will look on indifferently and see their employers vote for a destructive like Butler. Human mature is much the garden will tell in any community. It is very improper, of course, to intimitate voters, but there is a way of giving additional and the contrained of the contr

This action was described before your committee as "civilized bulldozing." and its occurence was said to be much more frequent and effective in the

manufacturing villages than in the cities.

The case of the Manchang Mannfacturing Corporation, in the county of Worcester, was cited as one of those in which this policy of "civilized bulldozing" was pursued. The testimony disclosed the following tacts: Mauchang is a manufacturing village, wherein the real-estate, mills, houses, churches, halls, and public buildings were owned by the stock company which there manufactured muslin fabrics. They employed a large number of persons as workmen, many of who were Freuch Canadians. The number of voters at the mills were upwards of 100 in 1878, of whom three-fourths were Democrats. All of the managing force, superintendents and bookkeepers were Republicans. Many young people of both sexes were employed at the mills, and their homes were with their parents in the tenement houses of the corporation. One case was shown in which a man who had served during the war occupied one of the company's houses, whilst his son and three nieces worked in the factory, and lived with him. He was quite active as a canvasser on the Democratic side in 1978. He describes what occurred as follows:

I was not working for the corporation, but I was active in the campaign. I distributed the campaign document to everybody. I was one of the signors of the Butler call and one of the vice-predictor of the Butler call. I and one of the vice-predictor of the Butler call. I contributed two or three dollars to the Butler fage raising, but we have a good time. Mr. Wuters, who had asked for the hall, cance to my home when I was not at home: my wife told me of his being there. I immediately after this a notice canne from the will that I must vacate my tenement within two weeks. It was signed by Robert Me Arthur and by Charles A. Chase, cirk. For two or three days nothing was

which the solution of the solu

and I shall not it until after town meeting, if I cam." Finantly I had three bottes and three write to go to Worcester, but went and voted after all the line in town, and I could not have gone II I had been turned out I could not have gone back to the tenement. No only that, but the fact was that previous to getting my notice I hat I far willage on a blaze; nine-lentils were bemorante, or for Bunter, but after they gave me the notice to man would say. Butter? in the willage.

The son was notified to quit work, and did quit. The effect of this notice to leave upon men who had families dependent upon them, was to take away then freedom of action, and they were obliged to vote as their employers required, for they had no place to go with their families.

Its effect appears to have been decided upon the voters. Their timidity was descriped as follows:

They spoke to me about making arrangements about raising a flag, as I did not work for the company and eared nothing for the company. They were afraid to take an active part in it, but agrised to contribute toward defraving the expense. I had a list of some twenty-four but sgreed to contribute toward defraying the expense. I had a list of some twenty-four names -t those who contributed—some a dullar and span two dollars—toward hiring the band and put ing the expense of a French speaker. After Mr. Waters came with a notice of Mr. Thayers and Mr. Stellors meeting, this notice which followed, from Mr. McArthur to my father, nade a change. These men did not seem to dare to speak to me on the front street there: hey would come around after dark and call me out to-speak to me on the front street me on the street without speaking, and they fold me, two or three difference these that it was build not seem whiter, and they did not well to be their jobs; still, they wished to vote for

Butlef.
Q. What have you seen in regard to tickets when they have got to the pulls?—A. I have seen Mr. Chase change their tickets. He generally stands at one site there were othere is a seen in the change them and have seen them to the stands there, and I have seen then been the change them, and have seen them get tickets from him and carry them.
Q. To specific tickets you speak of, did they examine these?—A. I do not know whether they could not. Provide the change them, and do not know whether they could examine them.
Q. D. you know whether those tickets were in envelopes or open?—A. I have seen Mr. Chase

give tic cets to them that were open.

give the dets to them that were open.
Q. Dil you see this occur in November, 1873?—A. Yes, Sir.
Q. Si gedfy an instance and describe how this occurred, if you can,—A. As they passed along he was standing there on this side, and as they would come up, to the pole, he would stop them, hand then one of the tickets, and say, "here, carry it in." They might have had an envelop or roomething of that kind. I have seen them have covelepts. I have seen them have covelepts.

The ballot-boxes were open boxes and those in charge could see the form and appearance of the ballot voted, and they were easily distinguishable apart.

The result of this close supervision of the votes of the operatives by their employers, and the fears which prevailed among them lest they should be discharged, very naturally affected the result in the district in which they voted, and give to the candidate favored by the employer a large number of votes they would not have received if perfect freedom of action had been allowed to the workmen.

Your committee examined a number of witnesses in regard to the management of and manner of voting at Webster, in Worcester County, by the employés of the Slater Manufacturing Company, where several hundred men are empleyed, a majority of whom were Irishmen, and the proof showed about the same state of facts as existed in Manchaug.

The same was the case at the Donglass Axe Factory, where the agents of the company stood at the door of the election-honse, watched every one of the employes who came in passed him the Republican ticket and told him it would

be to his interest to vote that ticket.

The Boston Elastic Fabric Company employs a large number of hands, most of whom were Democrats, but under the orders of their employer, Mr. Mc-Birne 7, they were nearly all required to vote the Republican ticket in November, 1378. The foreman of the factory stood at the polls in Chelsea all day on election day between the door and the ballot-box, and required the men employed under him to vote the Republican ticket. Another of the employes was directed to tell them that this was their employer's wish, and they must govern themselves accordingly. This was done and the men very generally obeyed the orders given. One testified that he did not and was soon driven out of that

employment.
The State of Massachusetts has a stringent registry law for the registration of yo ers. All naturalized citizens must produce their certificates of naturalization before the board of registration, and the name of the citizen can only go up in the list of voters after careful scrutiny. The law is a most wise and salutary one, but your committee are compelled to report that its provisions, in one case, were made the means of depriving several citizens born within the State of their right to vote, and one of them actually took out his naturalization papers. This difficulty occurred at Plymouth, and is thus described by

Dr. S mmway, a witness:

In the first place, we had a decision from the board of selectmen that those persons who were birn of persons unnaturalized could not be citizens of the United States, and therefore, could 1 of register as voters. This was made to operate very injuriously, because most of those

who had come of age were young men who were going to vote for General Butler. It so completely deniors lized them that some of them sold they would not have anything more to do with it. I endeavored to pershade them to hold on. The first intimation I had of it was this: WHATE. COMPANYON TO PERSONAL HEREITO HOLD ON, THE BEST INHUMBROD I HAD OF IT WAS UNEX.

A young man came to use and asked med I'l did not suppose that a man born within two rosts of Piymonth Roses was a citizen of the United States. I said I had no doubt of the Chairman of that they had refused to register being all thought be was been as the property of the Chairman of the Chair that II was a serious matter. I went before the board of selectinen, and found that they had made that doctston. I cold enzywest for right the case with them, but they said the decision was final; that no one who was born of unnaturalized citizens could be a citizen unloss himself naturalized, and that they would not allow any said to register. Some of the men who had been refused on this ground went once or twice in the town-house, and then said they would give in up and wouldful have only more to do with it. One or two persisted what they supposed to be their rights, and finally successful on the said that we made along the made they be the persistence of the said they would go the said they would be the persistence of the said they would be said to be their rights, and finally successful the days because the science of the said they would be said to said the said to be said tout to be said to be s was made and ten they become the election I I blok, (the first knowledge) I had of it was at that they had that on the wight before the election, (blonday evening, at ten of elecx, (the poils being opened on Tuesday,) the decision was reversed. I understood. The poils were opened on Tuesday at a quarter of mine o'clock, and the law is, I think, that after the poils have opened no man shall be allowed to register. As it was my first expense over a statist, I failed to take the names of those products of the state of the control of the state of th

Q. State the politics of the selectmen in Plymonth 2-A. Four of them were Republicans and one was a Democrat—that is an Abbott Democrat. The board was practically a unit in

the last campaign. It was composed of five members.

The young man, Morrison, who was naturalized, was called and testified in substance as follows:

Question. Where do you live?—Answerat Plymouth. Q. Where were you horn?—A. Close by Sandwich.

Are Plymouth and Sandwich in the same county?-A. No sir; Plymouth

is in Plymouth county and Sandwich is in Barnstable county.

Q. State the circumstances under which you made application for registration, why you got naturalized, and whether that which is now shown you is your naturalization paper ?-A. I went to the selectmen on the same night that Mr. Carr went to them. That was Saturday mgbt. Mr. Bradford, one of the selectmen, asked me why my name was not on the list, and if I had paid my taxes. I told him that I had paid them. He asked me if I was naturalized. I told him I was not; that I was born in this country. He then asked me if my father was naturalized, and I replied that my father was not. He said he didn't see how I could vote, for the reason that my father was not naturalized, but that he would carry the matter before the selectmen at the meeting on Saturday of next week. I went there shortly afterwards, when he told me that I should not vote because my father was not naturalized.

Q. Did you not get naturalized subsequently !- A. Yes, sir. The naturalization paper given to this young man, born in the country,

was produced, and is in these words:

#### UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

(Cut of Eagle.)

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, Plymouth County, ss:

1

To all people to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

To an people to unoun tress presents shull come, greeting:

Know ye that at a superior court, begun and holden at Plymouth, within and for the county of Plymouth, on the fourth Monday of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight, alexander Morrison, of Plymouth, in the county of Plymouth, and Statte of Massichusetts, born in the town of Sandwich, in the county of Barnstable, Massachusetts, having produced the evidence, and taken and subscribed the oather required by law, was admitted to pecome as Citizon of the said United States, according to the La estimates where the Law begunders are the anal subscribe the earl of said court at Ply.

In cestimony whereof have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said court at Plymouth, in said county, this first day of November, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and seventy-eight.

WM. H. WHITMAN, Clerk. [SEAL OF COURT. ]

Your committee think that this action of the registry board of Plymonth was either a gross outrage upon the sons of foreigners, born within the countr r, or (taking the most charitable view of the case) the board showed lament-

at le ignorance of the law, of common sense, and their plain duty. The campaign of 1878, in Massachusetts, seems to have been anomalous. For the first time, so far as your committee could learn, ministers of the Christian re igion were openly invited to aid in the campaign by farnishing the names and post-office address of their church members, to the end that cocuments containing the dogmas of a political party might be sent to them, through the mails.

A circular in the following form was sent to every clergyman in the State where name and address could be found from the religious monthlies:

REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE OF MASSACHUSETTS,
HEADQUARTERS, 376 WASHINGTON STREET,
BOSTON, September 26, 1878. Arin Thaver, Chairman, S. 3. Stebbins, Treasurer, George C. Crocker, Secretary.

I EAR SIR: In order to enable us to distribute documents effectually, will you kindly furnish us immediately with a list of the male members of your church and parish, and with a bar names as you may deem expedient. By so doing you will aid us in saving the holor of our commonwealth.

With esteem, yours,
Chorge C. Crocker, Secretary. ADIN THAYER, Chairann.

There was a large number of responses, and documents were sent to the names and addresses furnished. Of the character of the documents furnished to the members of the churches, your committee did not learn; but it is fair to suppose that, as the following circular seeks to arouse the alarm and indignation of "Christian citizens," it was forwarded to church members:

REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE OF MASSACHUSETTS,
a.
I Headquarters, 376 Washington Street,
Boston, September 19, 1878. AD'N THAYER, Chairman. S 3 STEBBINS, Treasurer. GEORGE C. CROCKER, Secretary.

I MAR SIG: A desperate attempt is being made, under a hypocrital pretense of State reform, to feltiver blassachusetts over to the Republiationists, Greenbackers and Communists.

This attempt should excite the alarm and indignation of every Uliristian citizen, and call for in the active, earnest, and persistent opposition of every lover of the fair fame of Massa-

chi sells 1. must be met defiantly and vigorously at once by private and public appeal to the intelli-ger ce, honor, and conscience of Massachusetts.

The State telect nominated by the Republican party stands for public and private honesty

am mattomal good faith.

1/10 earnes-1ly invoke your active aid in securing its election, and thus save the "old com-mo awealth" from the control of unseraptions and self-sooking demagogues.

1 or order of the Republican State Committee.

ADIN THAYER, Chairman.

( EORGE C. CROCKER, Secretary.

Your committee deems this system of electioneering dangerons and vicious, ca culated as well to bring the Christian religion into the mire of politics as to ar suse sectarian animosity among the people.

THE GLODE PRINTING OFFICE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

# END OF TITLE